

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CU-02 L-03 SS-15 /033 W
----- 059419

P R 041430Z FEB 76
FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6512
INFO USIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUCHAREST 0631

STATE FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN AND CU/EE;

USIA FOR IEU

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OEXC RO
SUBJECT: MID-TERM REVIEW TALKS: STRATEGY AND TACTICS

REF: STATE 014866, 75 BUCHAREST 6596, 75 STATE 294601, 75 STATE
293655

SUMMARY: THE PROGRAM OF COOPERATION AND EXCHANGES FOR
1975-76 CONTINUES TO PROVIDE A PRACTICAL FRAMEWORK FOR
ACHIEVING OUR GOALS OUTLINED IN THE FIVE YEAR (1975-
80) AGREEMENT ON COOPERATION AND EXCHANGES. WE ARE
MINDFUL THAT MANY OF THE EXPECTATIONS HELD BY BOTH
SIDES IN DECEMBER 1974 WHEN WE SIGNED THE AGREEMENT AND
PROGRAM HAVE NOT BEEN FULFILLED. BUT WE ALSO BELIEVE
THAT THERE HAVE BEEN IMPORTANT ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN THE
FIELD OF EXCHANGES BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES, AND
THAT THERE REMAINS AMPLE POTENTIAL FOR INCREASING
THEM IN THE COMING YEARS. IMPLEMENTATION ON THE ROMANIAN
SIDE DURING 1975 WAS UNEVEN DUE TO POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE
FACTORS, THE LACK OF A CLEAR AND REALISTIC SENSE OF PRIORITIES,
AND OVER-EXTENSION IN THE FIELD OF EXCHANGES IN GENERAL. ON OUR
SIDE IT IS OBVIOUS THAT WE NEED TO RE-EXAMINE OUR OWN EXPECTATIONS
AND PRIORITIES. CLEARLY, IN ORDER TO TAKE FULL ADVANTAGE OF BOTH
KNOWN AND UNFORESEEN OPPORTUNITIES, WE WILL HAVE TO BE MORE
FLEXIBLE AND IMAGINATIVE IN THE USE OF OUR OWN RESOURCES. WE
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ATTACH IMPORTANCE TO THE PARTICIPATION OF DEPFORMIN GLIGA IN

THE TALKS. HIS REASONABLE APPROACH TO PROBLEMS AND HIS PERSONAL COMMITMENT TO THE AGREEMENT SHOULD MAKE FOR A CONSTRUCTIVE ROMANIAN APPROACH. HE SHOULD BE LEFT IN NO DOUBT THAT WE WILL LOOK TO HIM TO PROVIDE LEADERSHIP FOR EFFECTIVE ROMANIAN FOLLOW-UP. END SUMMARY.

1. THE ROMANIAN CONTEXT - PERFORMANCE AND PRIORITIES; BLUNTLY PUT, ROMANIAN PERFORMANCE HAS BEEN LESS THAN SATISFACTORY AND GOR PRIORITIES REMAIN UNCLEAR. AS THE DEPARTMENT IS AWARE, AN IMPORTANT AND ONEROUS PART OF OUR CONTACTS WITH GOR OFFICIALS AND OF OUR COMMUNICATIONS WITH THE DEPARTMENT IN THE PAST YEAR HAS BEEN DEVOTED TO DEALING WITH PROBLEMS IN ROMANIAN ADMINISTRATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF EXCHANGES. MANY OF THESE PROBLEMS STEM FROM THE GROWTH IN RESTRICTIONS ON ROMANIAN LIFE (SUCH AS THOSE IMPOSED ON TRAVEL ABROAD) SINCE 1971. IN THIS TIGHTENING ATMOSPHERE WE VIEW THE AGREEMENT AND PROGRAM AS INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT POLICY INSTRUMENTS BECAUSE THEY FURNISH CHANNELS THROUGH AND, TO SOME EXTENT, BEYOND THE BUREAUCRACY FOR CONTACTS WITH ROMANIANS. OUR EXCHANGES ARE FURTHER COMPLICATED BY THE PRESENT LACK OF CLEARLY DEFINED ROMANIAN PRIORITIES. THE BUREAUCRATIC STRUCTURE FOR IMPLEMENTING EXCHANGES IS FRAGMENTED AND INSUFFICIENTLY COORDINATED. OFTEN IT RUNS SCARED IF NOT CONFUSED. THERE HAVE BEEN A NUMBER OF CASES IN WHICH DIFFERENT MINISTERIES HAVE DISAGREED AMONG THEMSELVES AS TO THE PRIORITY A PROGRAM SHOULD HAVE. THE RESULT IS "NON-PERFORMANCE". OUR CONCERN, DOCUMENTED IN OUR "BOX SCORE" REPORTS TO THE DEPARTMENT, IS WELL KNOWN TO THE ROMANIANS. WE SEE SOME SIGNS OF AN INCIPIENT REALIZATION THAT IT IS BETTER TO MAKE COMMITMENTS ONLY FOR PROGRAMS WHICH REALISTICALLY CAN BE CARRIED OUT. WE EXPECT THIS TO BE REFLECTED BY THE ROMANIAN DELEGATION IN THE TALKS.

2. US GOALS AND PRIORITIES: FROM HERE WE SEE THE FOLLOWING AS REASONABLE GOALS FOR OUR EXCHANGES PROGRAM TO WHICH THE FORTHCOMING TALKS SHOULD BE PEGGED.

A. ENCOURAGE THE ROMANIANS TO DEFINE THEIR PRIORITIES MORE EXACTLY. THE ABSENCE OF CLEARCUT OBJECTIVES WILL CONTINUE TO PLAGUE OUR EFFORTS TO CARRY OUT EXCHANGES IF THEY DO NOT.

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B. RECOGNIZE THAT THE ROMANIANS, BY THEIR OWN ADMISSION, ARE OVER-EXTENDED IN THE FIELD OF EXCHANGES AND ENCOURAGE THEM TO COMMIT THEMSELVES ONLY TO WHAT THEY CAN FULFILL.

C. PLACE A HIGHER PRIORITY ON EFFORTS TOWARD EXPANDING EXCHANGES WITH PRIVATE U.S. INSTITUTIONS. SINCE U.S.G. FUNDING FOR EXCHANGES IS LIKELY TO DECREASE IN THE COMING YEARS, THE IMPORTANCE OF THESE PRIVATE EXCHANGES BECOMES

APPARENT.

D. SEEK TO REDUCE THE RELATIVE WEIGHT OF LONG-TERM ACADEMIC EXCHANGES, WHILE INCREASING AND DIVERSIFYING THE TOTAL NUMBER OF SHORT-TERM GRANTS IN THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AGRICULTURAL AND CULTURAL FIELDS. WE DO NOT ACCEPT DEPMINED BOGDAN'S REMARK CONCERNING 70 PERCENT EFFECTIVENESS (STATE 293665). WE REMAIN ATTRACTED TO THE 60-40 MIX AND TO QUOTAS, BUT THEY SHOULD SERVE AS GUIDELINES, NOT AS GOSPEL.

E. IMPRESS ON THE ROMANIAN SIDE THE NEED TO IMPROVE THEIR ADMINISTRATION OF THE EXCHANGES PROGRAM (WE RECOMMEND THAT THIS BE DONE IN PRIVATE MEETING WITH ROMANIAN COUNTERPARTS, OUTSIDE THE PLENARY SESSIONS). MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE, THE UNCOORDINATED PROCEDURES AND CONFLICTING GOALS OF THE ROMANIAN BUREAUCRACY ACCOUNT FOR THE MISSED DEADLINES, LAST-MINUTE WITHDRAWALS AND UNFILLED GRANTS THAT EXASPERATE US ALL.

3. WHAT ARE MAJOR U.S. VULNERABILITIES?

A. FAILURE TO FILL QUOTAS: THE ROMANIANS FAIL TO MEET QUOTAS PRINCIPALLY FOR POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE REASONS. ON THE OTHER HAND, WE HAVE NOT FILLED QUOTAS BECAUSE OUR EFFORTS TO RECRUIT PARTICIPANTS HAVE NOT YIELDED THE NUMBER OR QUALITY OF APPLICANTS WE WOULD LIKE. IN SOME FIELDS THIS IS BECAUSE OF DIFFICULTIES IN ENSURING ACCESS TO ROMANIAN/ARCHIVES. IN OTHERS - PRINCIPALLY THE ETHNOGRAPHIC SCIENCES - THERE PROBABLY IS A LIMIT TO THE NUMBER OF AMERICAN STUDENTS AND SCHOLARS WHO WANT TO COME TO ROMANIA. WHATEVER THE REASONS, WE THINK THERE IS MERIT IN CONSIDERING THE SHIFTING OF GRANTS FROM ONE CATEGORY TO ANOTHER AFTER A MUTUALLY AGREED UPON DATE EACH YEAR IN ORDER TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF EVERY OPPORTUNITY RATHER THAN ADHERING RIGIDLY TO QUOTAS. THIS IS WHAT WE MEAN
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BY FLEXIBILITY.

B. UNPREPARED GRANTEES: TOO MANY AMERICAN GRANTEES HAVE ARRIVED IN ROMANIA WITH UNREALISTIC EXPECTATIONS. WE STRONGLY ENCOURAGE THE DEPARTMENT TO IMPROVE GRANTEE BRIEFINGS BEFORE THEIR DEPARTURE FROM THE U.S. A "PEACE CORPS ETHOS" IS REQUIRED TO LIVE IN THIS COUNTRY SUCCESSFULLY; LIFE HERE CAN BE TOUGH. WE SHOULD PREPARE THEM NOT ONLY FOR THE MANY DELIGHTS TO BE ENCOUNTERED IN THIS SOCIETY BUT ALSO FOR ITS WORST ASPECTS, SOMETHING EVERY GRANTEE SOONER

OR LATER WILL CONFRONT.

4. WE SUGGEST CONSIDERATION BE GIVEN TO THE FOLLOWING POINTS/THEMES FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY' HARTMAN'S OPENING REMARKS:

A. CONTEXT: OUR AGREEMENT AND PROGRAM ARE USEFUL DOCUMENTS THAT PROVIDE FOR A VARIETY OF MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS EXCHANGES. IN OUR VIEW BOTH SIDES SHOULD BE FLEXIBLE IN CARRYING OUT THESE EXCHANGES. WE NOTE WITH SATISFACTION THAT THE COUNCIL FOR SOCIALIST CULTURE AND EDUCATION, IN THE FIRST YEAR OF OUR CURRENT PROGRAM, HAS FULFILLED THE PROVISIONS FOR CULTURAL SPECIALISTS GRANTS, AS HAS THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION WITH REGARD TO EDUCATIONAL SPECIALIST GRANTS. WE ARE PARTICULARLY PLEASED TO NOTE THE INCREASED NUMBER OF GOVERNMENT, SOCIAL,

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CU-02 L-03 SS-15 /033 W
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P 041430Z FEB 76

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PROFESSIONAL AND CIVIC EXCHANGES. THESE HAVE INCLUDED THE MAYOR OF CONSTANTA, A DELEGATION FROM THE UNION OF COMMUNIST YOUTH, AND A GROUP OF YOUNG AMERICAN POLITICAL ACTIVISTS. WE ARE PLEASED BY THE INCREASE IN AMERICAN SPECIALISTS TEACHING ENGLISH IN PROVINCIAL UNIVERSITIES. THE EXCHANGE OF EXHIBITS - PHOTOGRAPHY USA AND THE ROMANIAN RUGS - HAS BEEN SUCCESSFUL. OVERALL OUR FIRST YEAR'S EXPERIENCE HAS INCLUDED A NUMBER OF ACHIEVEMENTS OF WHICH WE BOTH CAN BE PROUD. THERE ARE, HOWEVER, CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE PROGRAM WHICH REQUIRE OUR ATTENTION IF WE ARE TO TAKE MAXIMUM ADVANTAGE OF THE OPPORTUNITIES AVAILABLE TO US. AMONG THESE WE SHOULD MENTION THE FOLLOWING:

B. INCREASED FLEXIBILITY: THE NEED FOR INCREASED FLEXIBILITY IN IMPLEMENTING THE PROGRAM CAN NOT BE OVER-EMPHASIZED. OUR RESPECTIVE BUDGETS FOR EXCHANGES ARE RESOURCES WHICH FOR PLANNING PURPOSES ARE FORMULATED ASSUMING SPECIFIC TYPES OF EXCHANGES AND NUMBERS OF PERSONS. BUT WE SHOULD AT THE SAME TIME THINK IN TERMS OF OUR LONGER-TERM GOALS, AND WE SHOULD NOT RESTRICT OUR THINKING TO THE EXCHANGES SPECIFICALLY ENVISIONED BY THE PROGRAM IF THEY DO NOT SERVE OUR PURPOSES AT A GIVEN

MOMENT. MONITORING PERFORMANCE IN TERMS OF PRECONCEIVED TYPES AND NUMBERS OF EXCHANGES IS OF COURSE USEFUL AS A MEANS OF JUDGING HOW REALISTIC OUR PROGRAM IS. BUT IF THE PROGRAM DOES NOT REFLECT THE NEEDS OF EITHER PARTY, THEN WE SHOULD BE FLEXIBLE ENOUGH TO TAKE CORRECTIVE STEPS.

C. HOUSING: WE EXPECT THE ROMANIAN SIDE TO CONTINUE EFFORTS TO IMPROVE HOUSING FOR OUR AMERICAN GRANTEES. WE
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HOPE THAT MR HARTMAN WILL POINT OUT THAT OUR EXPECTATIONS ARE NOT UNREASONABLY HIGH BUT THERE REMAINS A MINIMUM STANDARD WHICH WE EXPECT THE ROMANIANS TO MEET. HE SHOULD NOTE THE EFFECT HOUSING CAN HAVE ON OUR PROGRAM. AS A RESULT OF UNRESOLVABLE PROBLEMS ONE FULBRIGHT PROFESSOR HAS LEFT AND TWO OTHERS ARE THREATENING TO DO SO.

D. DEADLINES: DATES FOR SUBMISSION OF NOMINATIONS AND DEPARTURES OF ROMANIAN GRANTEES FOR U.S. PROGRAMS ARE INCLUDED IN THE IMPLEMENTING CONDITIONS. IF THESE DEADLINES ARE NOT OBSERVED IN THE COMING YEAR, MANY ROMANIAN PARTICIPANTS WILL NOT BE ABLE TO TAKE PART IN THE EXCHANGES PROGRAM, AS HAS ALREADY BEEN THE CASE SEVERAL TIMES IN THE PAST YEAR. FYI: WE SHARE THE DEPARTMENT'S CONCERN OVER ROMANIAN FAILURE TO HONOR ACADEMIC NOMINATING DEADLINES, BUT SUGGEST A REASONED APPEAL RATHER THAN AN ULTIMATUM (STATE 294601). CUMBERSOME BUREAUCRATIC PROCEDURES AND INTERNAL SECURITY CONSIDERATIONS MAKE ABSOLUTE ROMANIAN COMPLIANCE ON THIS SCORE UNLIKELY. WHEN A FEW MORE OF THEIR GRANTEES ARE TURNED DOWN BECAUSE OF TARDY DEPARTURES, THEY MAY BEGIN TO UNDERSTAND OUR CONCERN.

E. ACCESS: IN THE PAST THE ROMANIANS HAVE ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS AGREED TO GRANT ACCESS TO THEIR ARCHIVES OR OTHER MATERIALS TO A PROSPECTIVE AMERICAN RESEARCHER, AND THEN TURNED AROUND AND DENIED IT ONCE HE ARRIVES IN COUNTRY. THIS ACCESS MUST BE GUARANTEED IF AMERICAN SCHOLARS ARE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE EXCHANGES PROGRAM.

F. THE 60-40 FORMULA: WE BELIEVE OUR EXCHANGES SHOULD BE BALANCED BETWEEN THE HUMANITIES AND THE SCIENCES AND TECHNOLOGY. THE ROMANIANS HAVE IGNORED THE AGREED UPON FORMULA IN NOMINATING INDIVIDUALS IN THE PAST YEAR, WEIGHTING THEIR GRANTEES HEAVILY ON THE S&T SIDE. WHILE WE ARE NOT MARRIED NECESSARILY TO STRICT OBSERVANCE OF THE 60-40 FORMULA, WE DO FEEL IT IS IN DANGER OF BECOMING SKEWED ON THE SIDE OF S&T. WE HAVE HEARD FROM A VARIETY OF HIGH GOV OFFICIALS THEIR DESIRE THAT ROMANIAN CULTURE BE BETTER KNOWN IN THE U.S. IT WILL BE BETTER KNOWN WHEN THE ROMANIANS BEGIN TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE OPPORTUNITIES AVAILABLE IN THE EXCHANGES PROGRAM.

G. THE FUTURE: WE SHOULD SEEK TO IDENTIFY NEW AREAS OF EXCHANGES,
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PARTICULARLY IN AREAS OF MUTUAL INTEREST, E.G., AGRICULTURE.
WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO EXPAND EXCHANGES IN THE POLITICAL AND
SOCIAL FIELDS. WE SHOULD SEEK MORE SHORT-TERM SPECIALISTS' VISITS
ON BOTH SIDES. THE LONG-RANGE MULTIPLIER EFFECT OF THESE SHORT-TERM
VISITS CAN BE OF GREAT VALUE (CITE VISITS BY DEAN B.J. CHANDLER OF
NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY AND PROFESSOR A.K. SOLOMON, HEAD OF HARVARD'S
BIOPHYSICS LABORATORY). BUT, ABOVE ALL, WE SHOULD DEVELOP CLEAR
IDEAS OF PRIORITIES AND MAKE SURE THEY ARE CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD BY
BOTH SIDES.

5. COMMENT: DESPITE THE FRUSTRATIONS OF THE FIRST YEAR, WE BELIEVE
THE PRESENT FRAMEWORK STILL MAKES SENSE. WE EXPECT THE
ROMANIANS WILL COME TO WASHINGTON FEELING A BIT DEFENSIVE
ABOUT THEIR PERFORMANCE AND RIGHTLY SO. WE WANT THEM TO HAVE
A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF OUR PROBLEMS, BUT WE DON'T
RECOMMEND RUBBING THEIR NOSES IN THE DIRT, TEMPTING AS THAT
MAY BE. WE REITERATE HERE OUR JUDGMENT THAT A LACK OF CLEARCUT
ROMANIAN PRIORITIES IS ONE OF THE MAJOR STUMBLING BLOCKS TO
THEIR IMPROVED PERFORMANCE, AND WE URGE THAT THIS OCCASION
BE USED TO BRING HOME THIS POINT. FOR OUR SIDE, WE BELIEVE
WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO EMPLOY ALL REASONABLE MEANS AVAILABLE
TO US TO SUSTAIN THE UPWARD MOMENTUM IN OUR EXCHANGES WITH
ROMANIA. OUR CULTURAL AGREEMENTS IN THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS
HAVE OPENED A NUMBER OF VERY IMPORTANT WINDOWS TO THE
WEST FOR A WIDE RANGE OF ROMANIANS. IF INTERNAL CONTROLS ON
CULTURAL AND INTELLECTUAL LIFE CONTINUE TO GROW TIGHTER, OUR
AGREEMENT AND PROGRAM WILL BECOME EVEN MORE IMPORTANT INSTRU-
MENTS FOR ADVANCING OUR INTERESTS. WE SHOULD BE ALERT TO THE
NEED TO EMPLOY MUCH GREATER FLEXIBILITY OF PURPOSE AND MEANS
IN OUR EXCHANGES WITH ROMANIA IF TO DO SO WILL SAVE THE
PROGRAM FROM BUREAUCRATIC AND IDEOLOGICAL ATROPHY.

6. WE WOULD WELCOME THE DEPARTMENT'S COMMENTS ON THIS MESSAGE.
VIETS

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 04 FEB 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: izenbei0
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976BUCHAR00631
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760043-0863
From: BUCHAREST
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760284/aaaacwcx.tel
Line Count: 319
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 76 STATE 14866, 76 BUCHAREST 6596, 76 STATE 294601
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: izenbei0
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 03 MAY 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <03 MAY 2004 by woolflhd>; APPROVED <30 AUG 2004 by izenbei0>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MID-TERM REVIEW TALKS: STRATEGY AND TACTICS
TAGS: OEXC, RO
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006